[18]

II. Customs concerning the Officiants

1. The Spirit-spear Soothsayer*

*See "Notes," pp. 23-26 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

791 787 Like all other kinds of soothsaying through a deity, soothsaying with the spirit-spear is called "to question the spirit." It proceeds as follows:

A spirit-spear is fetched in case there is none in the family. Then the soothsayer is invited. He is offered tea and [784] bread. Meanwhile the yard and the place where the soothsaying is to take place are swept. The great incense offering is pre- [782] sented in the yard in the usual form, and it remains burning throughout the ceremony. The soothsayer dons a long cloak, takes off his cap, washes his hands and face, and rinses out his mouth. [783] Then he steps in front of the spear, which has either been planted [788] in the ground or is held by a man, and kowtows three times. He rises, seizes the spear with both hands in the middle of the shaft, and holds it vertically in front of him. In this position he says the prayer of invitation. During this prayer the spirit descends. The spear starts to tremble, and with it the soothsayer's arms; one hears the bells rattle. Now the suppliant presents his case and receives directions from the spirit in the spear as to what he should do. The will and the reply of the spirit are manifested by the movement of the spear, for example, by stamping, leaping up, shaking. The soothsayer, too, questions the spear-spirit and imparts its answer. When the soothsaying is over, the soothsayer says the farewell prayer. The spear becomes quiet and stands still. The spirit is gone, and the soothsayer puts the spear aside again and makes his kowtow three times.

Spear-soothsaying is almost always practiced at all ceremonies in order to call down the spirit as witness. The soothsaying is always done in the same fashion.

[20 cont.]

*778 [824] The making of the spear: The wood of the shaft must have grown wild. Wood that has been planted or wood from inhabited, settled regions may never be taken, for it is not pure. The wood is therefore sought in lonely forests and mountains. The most superior wood is sandalwood. Since this is rare, however, the mountain ash is usually used. -- The iron is usually wrought iron. There is no prescriptions concerning its origin. It may be bought, taken from old tools, etc.

Fig. 2

Mirror and rattles are covered

a. Spirit-table without bands (sirie purgan); b. spirit-table with bands (sirie purgan).

[422] [575] [463] Anyone may have a spirit-spear, and anyone may make it himself, but never women. If the owner wants to have a beautiful spirit-spear, however, he will go to a skilled craftsman, carpenter, and smith. It is required that before starting the work the craftsman rinse out his mouth, wash his face and hands, and hold the latter [783] over the smoke of a cypress fire. The tools are also thoroughly [782] smoked. In addition, the smith casts some cypress incense into his smithy fire.

[322] [326] [782] The craftsman may work at home in his workshop or in with the family of his client. The individual parts are made separately, in other words, the shaft by the carpenter, the tip and foot by the smith. They bring the parts to the owner's house. The latter then offers twelve steamed loaves (or baked loaves) on the shelf in front of the Buddha image, as well as a piece of red cloth and a measure of barley. The craftsmen place their instruments on the grain in [788] the bushel, and all of them kowtow in front of the Buddha image, [322] while the incense offering is presented outside. The carpenter receives the barley; the smith receives the twelve loaves with the red [326] cloth.

[20 cont.]

*778 It does not matter who puts the spear together. No special ceremonies are connected with it. Now the owner tends to the bands, bells, and copper plates. The bells are the ordinary little rattling bells, such as horses wear around their necks. One [792] can take the spear to a lamic monastery or have it consecrated at home; the ceremonies are the same in both places.

*778 792 The consecration of the spear: The spear cannot be consecrated by an ordinary lama; he must be a Living Buddha. Only he has the power to make a spirit live in the spear.

After the hutukhtu has been entertained in the customary fashion, the general ceremonies of the lama-reception have been carried out, and the tormas [sacrificial objects made of dough] [21] stand in front of the household altar, the consecration begins. Young hutukhtus perform it in the household chapel, but old ones remain seated on the warm kang in the main house.

The master of the household drives the spear in the ground in front of the lama, unless he holds it in his hands standing upright during the entire ceremony. Another brings the attachments for the spear on a tray. First the bands and then the rattles and the mirror are attached. If the hutukhtu does not want to do this himself, it will be done by an assisting lama or by a man. Every piece, before it is tied on, is held in the incense that is kept ready in an iron spoon.

*778 [782] Once the spear has been thus prepared, the master of the household takes it either into the chapel or to the shelf before the household altar, where he sticks it in a large stand. In front of it he burns fragrant sandalwood incense, sets up little burning oil- or butter-lamps, and offers little bowls with barley, wine, and water, and finally a large loaf of wheat bread weighing several pounds. The hutukhtu at this point goes to stand in [783] front of the spear and sprinkles it with the consecrated wumba- [792] water. He then sits down with his legs crossed on a white felt mat in front of the spear and gives the prayer of consecration. Then he rises, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley from a little plate handed to him, blows over it, and casts it over the spear with his right hand. Meanwhile all those present kowtow in

[22 cont.]

must have its own door to the outside. The chapel may not be constructed in such a way that it can also be reached through another room that is occupied. It must be located in the main house. In order to avoid any danger of pollution, the chapel is preferably erected on the roof of the main house. The soothsayer determines in what part or on what side of the main house it should be. Aside from silence, the reason for this strict separation from the other rooms is that in crossing other rooms one may become unclean, especially if the rooms are accessible to the women.

Prescriptions for purity: Ordinarily, any man or boy may touch the spear, fetch it, and take it away. They may also enter the chapel at will. Women, however, may never touch the spear or visit the chapel. They are always regarded as unclean. There are also certain taboos, however, for the men.

The man's wife or any other woman in the family may not be in confinement. Not until ten days after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 40 days after the birth, is the man pure again. If he has visited another family in which there is a woman in childbed, he is pure immediately after the conclusion of the confinement, that is, 30 days after the birth.

Those in mourning are unclean for 49 days, if they are members of the dead person's own family. If the parents have died, the children are regarded as unclean for 100 days. If someone participated in the obsequies of another family, he is unclean for only three days.

These prescriptions for purity also apply to the soothsayer. He may not enter the chapel during this time, and especially may not touch the spear or even practice soothsaying. When this period has elapsed, the men are automatically pure again; there is no special purification ceremony (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 26.] The prescriptions for purification are the same as among the Chinese in Tsinghai; they apply for all religious activities and temple visits. The Chinese also have

[22 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.]
special sayings concerning this, which the Tujen lack.

Word List

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To prophesy: purgandë sila = the spirit to question (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 23.] This expression applies both to the people who question the god and to the soothsayer who calls down the spirit. The Chinese say for this ch'ing fo-yeh, that is, "to invite the Buddha-Father." This expression is applied primarily to the soothsayer himself; in an extended sense it signifies every questioning by means of a deity, soothsaying, oracle.

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Spear-soothsayer: šdiendzën; šdien (Tib.) = the consecrated, the sacred (4).
dzën (Tib. loanword) = to contain, to hold.

4. [Foreign text pp. 23-24.] šdien is the name both for the consecrated spear with bands attached and for the consecration band (or bands) itself, but primarily for the bands after the consecration and detached from the spear. The consecrated bands on the spear, according to the informant, are called by the Tibetan names xuon (silk cloth)

[28 cont.]
rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[29 cont.]

Consecration: Once the young man has tested himself and feels secure, he takes 12 loaves of steamed bread, three loaves of baked bread, money, and a hada, and goes to the monastery. There he hands the gifts to a schooled lama with special praying power and requests the consecration.

First a test takes place. With the usual ceremonies, the shaman must put himself in a trance. He must indicate given objects; thorns are scattered on the floor and he is challenged to sit on them; whips are lashed in his direction, and in every possible way attempts are made to intimidate him. If he is a genuine shaman in a genuine trance, he is not afraid and is not injured. If his state is not genuine, he becomes frightened, backs away, or comes out of the trance.

At this point the presiding lama takes a hada (13),

13. [Foreign text p. 33.] Hada, Tib. k'a btags, is a scarf-like ceremonial cloth.

slings it around the shaman's neck, and asks which tutelary spirit revealed itself to him. The shaman then pronounces the name, kneels, and receives from the lama the instructions concerning his duties as shaman. Among these are the taboo and purification prescriptions, for example: he may not officiate when he is in mourning or when his wife is in confinement; also during this time he may not worship his tutelary spirit; after sexual intercourse and after enjoyment of tobacco and a considerable amount of liquor, he is unclean (11), and he must purify himself

11. [Foreign text p. 33.] Actually, liquor is not prohibited for the shamans. Here a Buddhistic prescription seems to be in effect, but in a weakened form, for a moderate consumption of liquor does not make the shaman unclean, only drunkenness does, although in the eyes of the Tujen this by no means represents anything morally objectionable.

[29 cont.]

before the [30] individual acts by inflicting wounds with the sword, piercing his chest, licking red-hot iron, etc. Along with this instruction, which is contained in certain Tibetan books, the lama says the prayer of consecration over him.

Then the shaman rises and washes his hands, face, and head with the water from the lama's holy can. He must likewise first rinse out his mouth. Then barley is thrown over him and he is fumigated with incense. The lama takes the hada that he had slung around his neck, makes a knot in it, folds it together, sticks it in a little rectangular red or yellow bag, and hangs this around the shaman; it is the amulet of his tutelary spirit and is called "protective fort" (8). In place of this hada,

8. [Foreign text p. 32.] It is unclear whether this hada is the seat of the tutelary spirit. In any case it is to be regarded as a protective amulet.

or together with this hada, the shaman may also wear on his chest a large case containing the figure of his tutelary spirit (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 32-33.] The consecration ceremony might lead one to believe that the shaman is only capable of performing his office by means of it. In itself it has nothing to do with shamanizing. It is merely an official confirmation of one's capabilities, and also the people desire it. There are also shamans, however, who have not been consecrated in the monastery, especially among the people mixed with Chinese.

The consecration appears to admit the shamans to the position of lay monks, for among the monks there are also those who act as shamans and have certain prescriptions. Thus on the route from Hei-tsuei-tzu

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration: the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

757 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick; conjure away storms, drive away demons. He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[41 cont.]

Prayer fee: bosë (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

Taboo of the compound: udie dzilä-; chi-men (Chin.) = to forbid the door.

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean. The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which young and old gather during the day. The master of the house washes his hands and face (1), rakes some coals from the fire,

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since washbowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

372 [43 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 46 cont.] takes a second mouthful and lets it run out of the mouth over the cupped hands and washes them; the third mouthful, allowed to run into the hand in the same way, serves to wash the face. This is repeated as desired, until one is clean. In case someone has a washbowl, he may under no circumstances forget to rinse his mouth, because that is part of the purification for a religious ceremony.

and puts them on the incense plate under the mani-tree out in the yard. There he blows on the coals to make a large flame, throws cypress twigs, butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, tea leaves, sugar, and a number of colored threads into it, and finally sprinkles the fire with pure water. Then, when the smoke rises up, the conch is blown, and the master of the
[788] house, as well as all those standing by, makes a three-fold kowtow three times in front of the fire. With this the morning offering is concluded, and all go to their daily work.

Details

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Persons: Usually the master of the household presents the incense offering. In his stead, however, another male member of the family may perform the act, but never women, unless there is no male person in the house and the children are still too small. Women may be present and make the kowtow, just as they also sweep the yard, set the things in readiness, and even hand them over for the offering. The conch is usually blown by someone who does not perform the offering. If the master of the household making the offering does it himself, it is done before the kowtow.

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

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[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] [263] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

[439] [824] The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[44 cont.]
782 wine, however, but "libation" (6). Nevertheless water is always

6. [Foreign text p. 48.] The informant observed that "libation" is otherwise only called tusa; only in the case of the incense offering would one say tsiab. The rite implies, however, that it is not a matter of a libation at all. Drink-offerings are always poured on the ground. Here, however, the water is sprinkled on the fire; in addition, in this case water is preferred to all other liquids and is regarded as the purest and most superior. This requires a different interpretation. As a loan-word, tsiab corresponds to the Tibetan c'ab. Ch. Das (p. 409) explains c'ab: "water in any form; but not used like c'u to signify a river" [cited in English]. He further mentions sña c'ab as water with which the monks moisten their tongues before starting a religious ceremony, in order to purify themselves, which is approximately the same as the above-described purification before the incense offering. In other words, the tsiab is nothing other than a purification of the fire by sprinkling it with water. Later the people came to think of it as an offering and used milk and wine for it. Nonetheless, the awareness has remained that it should really be water.

• [783]

superior. It must be pure, from a well, a spring, or a river. Standing water, for instance, that from a kitchen tub, may not be drawn by anyone, however pure it might be. The water is sprinkled into the fire with a cypress twig (10).

[45 cont.]

782
177

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

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[784]

The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

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[45 cont.]

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782

[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] this purificatory effect, however, but also the incense itself. This is shown by its name, "purity-wood," and by the use of bsaṅs as a verb, which, according to Ch. Das (p. 1316), means "to cleanse, to remove" [cited in English]. For this reason incense is also scattered in the water with the red-hot stone (ch'ü-t'an) that is used for cultic purification.

Word List

192 Cypress tree: šgua sdziõdzẽ (3) [see Note 3 above].
782 Cypress: šgua.
[824] Cypress incense: fdzañ (šdzañ, dzañ, sañ) (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba offering: fdzañ šdzam (Tib. loanword).
Tsamba (profane): talġa (11).

11. [Foreign text p. 49.] talġa: Tib. t'al ba or t'al k'a = powder, dust, ash; Mong. talxa = flour, rye flour, barley flour.

ġlu-smăn: Tib. klu sman = the dragon medicine, bot. Angelica. There are four kinds, of which the black and the white are the best. The white Angelica is used against sickness from the earth-dragon. In Mongolic it is called luus-un em = dragon-medicine.

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snaġsog: Tib. sna = many, and ts'ogs = kind. lisi = Tib. li-šiṅ = Carophyllus. gušgum: Tib. gur-gum = saffron, crocus. sësmiel: Tib. sug-smel (rmel) = cardamom; Chin. pai-tou kuan

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[73 cont.]

*778 and go into the mountains to look for the tree. The tree must
[824] be a wild one, not one planted by human beings. It must not be taken from inhabited places or from the edge of a path. The wood should be superior, at least fir or cypress wood.

Before the carpenter sets to work, he washes his hands and
[783] face and rinses out his mouth. Then he fumigates his head and hands. He proceeds in exactly the same fashion with his tools. First he indicates on the trunk the four points of the compass; then he fells it and smoothes the four sides corresponding to [74] these directions, which the tree must also retain in the chorten chamber. The tree may be only six ells long, no more and no less. The width is about ten centimeters.

The trunk is brought home and planed smooth in the compound where the lama is staying, while the lama prays and outside the incense offering is burned. Then the carpenter brings it into the house and lays it by the lama on the kang. The latter first gives a prayer over the trunk and then inscribes
[217] Tibetan sayings on it in red. He usually uses red clay dissolved in water for this. The trunk thus inscribed is then wrapped with a yellow cloth and a number of threads is wound around it. The points of the compass are written on the cloth. Then the tree is put between the urns on the household altar and placed upright, propped against the wall. The little oil-lamps and seven water-bowls are renewed, and while a new incense offering is given in the yard, the lama sprinkles the trunk and gives the votive prayer over it (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 78.] The construction of this sky column is very similar to the making of the spirit-spear. -- The trunk need not always be smoothed. In the case of partially decayed bẽñkã̃ñ one can see little trunks sticking out of the sasa-mountain with all their bark and without any further preparation, which allows an even more natural connection with the world-tree. It is

[75 cont.]

*778 346 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves.

[483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. --

[783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten chamber

[527] with holy water after the whitewashing; then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[626 cont.]

527
[354]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[177]

[356] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste [177] them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[513] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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[888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[789]
[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[372]
[783]

[626 cont.]

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[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783]

4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear. They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over it. [783] The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the commandments that he must observe from now on. [785] These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. [292] It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm [292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morning prayers, [465] drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[645 cont.]

764 All who participated at the cremation wash their hands
[783] and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard
[792] gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.
[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those
795 persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay
792 monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it
[778] is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed
[778] even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of [792] ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the [782] oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
[262] food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclear,
and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[832 cont.]

241 782 [825] [621] Such families, however, must make their contribution. The main thing is that the animal be healthy and without flaw. For instance, it may not be lame or blind. Also, ugly colors are avoided, for instance, a white animal with a black head, etc.

Objects used: For the offering one needs several iron kettles, several buckets of water, knives, ladling spoons, cords, blood basins, eating bowls, firewood, etc. In addition, one takes along all the equipment for the incense offering.

Slaughtering: The slaughtering is preceded by a great incense offering, which is maintained by the men throughout the ceremony. Anyone may repeatedly throw cypress twigs into it at will, offer barley wine, etc. At the same time the [202] conch is steadily blown so that one can hear from afar that an offering is taking place on the mountain.

241 782 783 Young men bring the animal to the spot, untie it, and wash it with their hands from head to tail. Then it is fumigated with incense. Another places a white stone in the fire. When it is hot, he scoops hot water out of a kettle with an iron spoon, puts the stone in the spoon, scatters pounded cypress leaves over it, and with it fumigates the sheep. All the men who helped with the slaughtering wash their hands and faces, rinse out their mouths, and fumigate themselves. All the implements are likewise washed and fumigated.

241 782 787 Now they form a circle around the sheep and pour milk over its head and neck. It does not matter what kind of milk it is. One may also use flour- or tsamba-water or even pure water. A healthy sheep shakes itself at this pouring. This shaking is an indication that the sky accepts the animal. Then the men make a threefold kowtow in a circle around the sheep. After the milk has been poured over it, they let the sheep run free for a few steps and capture it again. In case the animal does not shake itself, they immediately fetch another.

241 782 231 The slaughtering is performed by the seed-master. His helpers seize the sheep by its legs and horns, force it down on the ground, and bend back its head so that the throat is tensed.

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

[840 cont.]

Details

778 787 [783] Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 562 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be: an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]
778 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may
562 promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 Animals: As consecration-animals the following are per-
825 missible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even
[783] hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially pre-
[178] ferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulõn the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

[844 cont.]
and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays any attention to it.

Details

Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

The animals: The animals permissible are: horses, cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

The travel provisions: The following things are packed in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[848 cont.]

789 778 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter. [785] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 778 791 532 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel, fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures. [783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand. [782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is [783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he undertakes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[35] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
[784] shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
755 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
756 lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787] shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783] proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]
755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley
756 are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

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Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuāndzi (xuāndzie) fdzē ʼsdani = the shaman boils water.
[756] Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiġuo.
Lock:[1]	tsūrġuo.
Red-hot stone:	sōdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ū-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dērasē.
Flowers:	tsidziġ.
Prayer texts:	dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayāṅ: Mongolic dayaġan (pronounced dayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

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6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[864 cont.]

782 [792] The fire-pouring: On the morning of the seventh day, immediately after sunrise, the lama says his morning prayer, drinks tea, and makes the fire-torma. Meanwhile, after the incense offering, everything is prepared outside for the fire ceremony.

Next to the burning-place a large iron kettle for melting the butter is put on three stones. A pile of firewood lies next to it. A felt mat for the lama is put to the west of the wall, for he always sits facing east. Sometimes a broad kang table is set up, which serves the lama as a seat. On it is put a piece of wide cloth, which during the fire-pouring he places over his knees for protection, so that [illustration appears here] no liquid butter will drip on his clothes. Next to the seat one places the fire fan [372] consisting of a piece of white cloth that is provided with two little parallel sticks, so that the lama can grasp it with both [783] hands. The fire is fanned with it because one may not pollute it with his breath.

In front of the lama-seat and the wall there is a small table for the cult implements, prayer book, bell, etc. To the right of the seat there stands a small table on which to put the pouring-tube and the spoon. To the left, next to the lama-seat, one puts a wide board or a door taken off its hinges, over which one spreads a sack, and over that a white cloth runner. [Illustrations a, b, c, and d appear here.] [865] The tray with the pieces of wood and the 12 little plates with the burning-spices are on top of that. Furthermore the following are kept [372] in readiness: several flintstones or a box of matches, a butter-lamp, a paper lantern, and a lighting pole such as is also used at the cremation.

782 792 Now the lama comes out with the fire-torma and puts it in the center of the ground-drawing on a layer of cypress twigs. Around this the men pile up the prescribed firewood in the shape of an octogon that tapers toward the top, leaving an empty space in the center around the torma. They then fill this space with cypress twigs. The gift-master then ceremoniously hands a hada to the lama and requests him to begin the ceremony. While he goes to the other side of the pile of wood and makes a threefold

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
• [783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
[841] connected. A very common expression runs: pudaġ ilie, un-
clean demon; a woman is also pudaġ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her.

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire.

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times. 755

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced. 776 755

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above. 755

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the 733

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

evil spirits hidden in the village have to be expelled. 783
Usually the shaman is invited to drive them out. Sometimes a lama of the Red Sect is invited.

The shaman molds a small manikin with red earth 756
and straw. It is carried from house to house by four 783
young boys. Five boys, six years of age, run in front, each having half of his face blackened with soot and half whitened with flour. Carrying a bow, hammer, spear, and knife, they enter every courtyard, shouting at the top of their voices, leaping and gesticulating. Each member of the family rubs his face with a piece of a roll and red dyed cotton, and then puts these two items in a basket before the manikin. The whole group, with the shaman, then goes to the place reputed to be the abode of evil spirits. They light a big fire and burn the manikin and all the items. The shaman performs the dance which makes the evil spirits harmless, curses them and threatens to torture them if they dare to come again. This rite is also performed every time epidemics, such as measles, harm the village.

This rite to chase the evil spirits of the year, performed at the end of the year by the shaman, accompanied by boys six years of age whose faces are half blackened with soot and half whitened with flour, recalls the rite performed by the Wu shaman in old China. It is recorded as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.). The *fang hsiang* Wu led boys under the age of puberty, who were the principal performers of the rite. They beat drums, cursed and drove out the evil spirits. The boys did not wear a cap and gown of the same color, but a red cap and black gown.[10] It is strange how this old rite is still performed on the borders of Tibet after so many centuries, for the same purpose and at the same season, by the Monguor shaman, accompanied by immature boys, whose faces are bicolored as was the dress of the boys in ancient times.

In all the lamaseries in the country on the twenty- 783
ninth of the last moon, the lamas drive out the evil 792
spirits hidden in the monastery. Several *torma* are prepared, a big one painted with a coat of red paint. Texts, liturgical incantations and curses are recited by the lamas in the temple. The lamas, in a group, bring the ominous *torma* out of the monastery to a lonely, deep valley where a big fire is kindled. The *tormas* are burned with the same recitation of liturgical curses, and the lamas return at full speed without looking backward. At the same time, in most of the monasteries, there is pasted up an enormous head of a bull, made of paper, on which are written the names of the Chinese generals, Nien Keng-yao and Yueh Chung-ch'i, who in 1723 burned their lamaseries. They hope that the bull spirit may still molest their foes in their graves. In Kumbum the rite is performed after the festivities of the fifteenth of the first moon.

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[10] M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 300-301.

[p. 129 @]

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha, or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-